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Power speeches, also, are localized and varied. Each ceremonial "father" has his own set, perhaps learned in his own village, perhaps in another. All are considered equally efficacious, but a neophyte is likely to choose a "father" from his own locality and so perpetuate the local variation. Thus, Anegam has an elaborate set of salt speeches, while the other villages manage with almost none. Komarik and Santa Rosa have war speeches so different that they seem like two halves of a ceremonial whole. The latter village, in fear of losing its ritual altogether, held a mock war raid and initiated two young men, the sons of famous scalpers. The garbled manner in which one of them recited the ritual gave ample illustration of the way in which whole passages may be altered or lost.

Esoteric speeches are couched in "soft words," or standardized circumlocutions which avoid naming an animal or object. Thus, Coyote is "the woolly comrade"; the sun, "the shining traveler"; the stones which hold a pot on the fire are the "three shamans." So far-fetched are some of these expressions that an interpreter with no ritual knowledge cannot understand them. One is reminded of the standardized poetic titles in Beowulf and Homer. However, in the writer's opinion the Papago expressions are not mere metaphor; they may well be related to the taboo against the use of personal names and may be meant as respectful treatment of the supernaturals and even the objects which can influence a ceremony. "Salt pilgrims" carry the attitude so far as to use roundabout terms in ordinary conversation. There is, in fact, a "salt language," parallel to the "war language" of the Apache,[10] and of some Plains tribes. We might hazard the idea that the peaceful Papago have transferred this peculiar form of respect from war to another dangerous enterprise. Nor is it unrelated to the circumlocutions by which many peoples avoid the names of the dead.

A ceremonial speech has not only a peculiar vocabulary but also a peculiar form of delivery. It is pronounced in a low voice and entirely without gesture. Its mumbled words are almost inaudible, but it is given, not for its effect on the audience, but as a magic spell. Nevertheless, there are two distinct speaking techniques. The

[10] Opler, p. 210.

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the hostesses served cooked food to all the visitors. One informant had seen a hostess arrive with a huge dish of boiled beans which she offered to the singers. She tried to feed them with her hand; they refused, and she smeared the food on their faces. After this, each householder of the challenged village advanced to one of the visitors and said: "You go to my house for your pay." At the house they were given cooked food, clothes, skins, and baskets. But it might be that the naming songs were to follow the skipping dance. In that case, payment was deferred until the whole performance was over. More often, the two entertainments were alternatives and either one or the other was given.

THE NAMING CEREMONY

The naming ceremony was, like the skipping dance, a charm performed by the visitors to secure good luck to their hosts. It consisted of a series of songs celebrating the name of every important man in the village. Mentioning of names in this manner was akin to the mentioning of animal names in songs to cure sickness. The auspicious circumstances brought good luck to the person mentioned, and, though using names was often undesirable, it was here a success charm.

This entertainment required no effigies and no new songs. Each village had a series of songs, some celebrating a shaman, some a wise man, some a warrior, and into this framework they could fit any name they pleased, by lengthening or shortening the lines. It was the custom so to fit the names of their hosts and to be paid for the compliment.[6]

When naming songs were to be sung, the visitors must hear the names to be used on the night before the ceremony, or even earlier, in order to commit them to memory. While they were camped outside the village of their hosts, in the usual way, they sent a messenger to signify their intention and to ask for the names. The host village held a meeting to select the names, since each man sung for would have to provide a substantial gift. Usually there

[6] Russell, p. 171, describes a naming ceremony for the Pima, although he says nothing about a skipping dance or a ceremony of challenge.

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was a regular system of gift partners who alternately sang for and paid each other. All such men in the host village gave their names, knowing that their partners would do the same for them next year. Now and then a new man would volunteer, either because he had acquired relatives-in-law among the challengers or merely because he hoped to establish friendly relations. Sometimes one who was dissatisfied with the gifts he had been receiving would drop out.

When the names had been decided upon, the hosts sent four of their elders to the camp of the visitors, to act as censors of the songs and to reject any that did not please them. These elders sat in a row beside the singers of the visitors. A selected man from the visitors, whom we may call the prompter, sat in front of the row. It was his business to remember the names as they were presented and to remind the singers the next day. This was a responsible task, since there might be twenty or thirty names and all must be mentioned in order of their importance. The device used was that of a number of sticks, each representing a particular name.

A boy arrived from the host village, bearing the first two sticks, for names were always "sung for" in pairs. He threw one stick down before the prompter, saying: "Sing for So-and-So." The prompter replied: "I have heard, friend!" Then the boy threw down the other stick in the same way and the prompter, fingering the sticks, repeated the two names until he had fixed them in his memory. Meanwhile the singers behind him decided which of their songs would fit the names. They tried over several, and then sang the one selected. The delegates from the host village listened, and if they thought the words inappropriate, they objected. The singers tried over their repertoire, altering to suit the case, until they had a song that was acceptable.

Meanwhile another boy had arrived, with two more sticks, and the same process was gone through. The prompter, who had memorized the names, kept all the sticks and used them as a mnemonic device the next day. The names must appear in a certain order; shamans first, then the keeper of the smoke, then warriors, then elders. The prompter kept the sticks tied together in this order.

When the songs had been decided upon, the singers might practice a whole day before they presented their performance, many

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of the villagers learning the songs and singing with them. When they were ready, they either presented the skipping dance and then the naming songs, or else the naming songs alone. In either case, the first act was the challenge and the songs to the four directions. Before the naming songs, the whole of the visiting village marched around the plaza, two by two. Then they took their places, at one side of the plaza and a group of boys and girls danced during the naming songs just as they did in the visiting dance.

The first song sung was always "for the fields," since this was in November when the hosts had not left for the "wells," their winter camp. Mentioning the richness of the fields automatically brought the result. After that came songs for the shamans and the other prominent men in turn, always ascribing to them the blessings or the qualities they would like to have. The prompter sat beside the singers, with all the sticks in a row in front of him, and as each pair of names was disposed of, he removed the corresponding sticks.

NAMING SONGS

FOR THE FIELD

12. It is full daylight,
And I sing.
It is full daylight,
And I sing.
Lo, it is Komari'k field!
Very rich it is;
I sing for it.

It is full daylight,
And I sing.
It is full daylight,
And I sing.
Lo, it is Field of the Black Hill [Tucson].
Very rich it is;
I sing for it.(9)

FOR THE SHAMANS

13. [As we march] along
The shamans come forth with us;
The shamans come forth with us.

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Jose, who shoots [an Apache] bow;
Juan Miguel, who shoots at his scalp basket.
As we walk along,
The shamans come forth with us.(9)

Nothing more daring could be conceived than the two acts mentioned above.

14. Follow it, follow it, follow it!
The white bow of the great shaman
Becomes a snake.
Over our fields it glides.
The blue bow of the lesser shaman
Becomes a snake.
Over our fields it glides.
Follow it, follow it, follow it!(9)

FOR WARRIORS

15. Is it your fame
Which comes forth, loud sounding?
Is it your fame
Which comes forth, loud sounding?
Juan Enos,
Your fame far sounding?
It girds Old Man Mountain [in Apache country]
Like a bandolier.

Navel Hole,
Your fame far sounding,
It girds the Four Peaks [in the Apache country]
Like a bandolier.
Is it your fame
Which comes forth, loud sounding?(9)

16. He is dizzy with it!
He is dizzy with it.
Mad Bull Ears,
With his big shield, is dizzy.

He is drunk with it;
He is drunk with it.
Anton,

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With his fine club, is drunk;
He is drunk with it,
He is drunk with it.(9)

17. Over there came one
On the flat land.
There sounded stamping,
At Tecalote, Big Coyote,
Having killed an Apache,
Sang.
Upon the flat land
There sounded stamping.
On the mountains
There sounded rattling.
At Wupatahi, Big Catclaw,
Having killed an Apache,
Sang.
Upon the mountains
There sounded rattling.[6]

After each song, the elders of the visiting party appointed someone to receive the gifts, provided by the men sung for. An enemy slayer went to an enemy slayer; a headbearer to a headbearer. The present given for the fields was received by the very old man of the visiting party. Those designated to receive gifts did not go to get them themselves, but sent their women with carrying baskets. It was a game for women of the host village to chase and pelt the visitors as they went off with their booty, upsetting pots of syrup over their heads and aiming tortillas at their faces. The wives of the hosts sometimes danced and made motions illustrative of their husbands' exploits while the names of the men were being sung.

RACING

When the hosts had made full payment for blessings received, they had a chance to win back their investment by betting on the race. If the preliminaries were over by noon, this might take place the same day. More often it was postponed to the next morning, and the intervening time was occupied in making bets. Wagered

[6] For a Pima naming song similar to this and the previous one see Russell, p. 285.

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Coyote		Buzzard		614
aapap-kam	aapap people	maam-kam	maam people	
apki-kam	apki people	waahw-kam	maam people	
Uncertain		**Legendary**		
o'kari-kam	o'kari people	a'to-kam	a'to people	
		si pat-kam	bad people	

The distinguishing characteristic of these sibs is that a father is called by his children, not by the ordinary word for father, but by the stem of the sib name: aapap, maam, etc. This is similar to the custom in Yuman tribes of calling the women of one sib by a common sib title.[1] The father term is used to every father in the sib by both male and female children and women do not cease to use it on marriage. Therefore no Papago can be unaware of his sib, though all its functions may have been lost. 614 551

The placing of the sibs in the moieties is not entirely clear. All informants agreed that the aapapkam were Coyote and the maamkam Buzzard. In fact the main sibs were sometimes used as synonymous with the moieties and many had never heard of any others. When they had, they assigned them a subaidiary position. For example, apkikam is the youngest clan (12); waahwkam is slave to the others and has no real partner, but looks to black buzzard who is slave to yellow buzzard, the moiety totem (20). 614

It was the common opinion that, four being the ceremonial number, there ought not to be more than four sibs and informants tried to explain away one or another, the omitted one being little represented in the speaker's neighborhood. Thus some informants thought that apki was merely a variation of aapap and that the two constituted one sib (5). Others thought the waahwkam existed only among the Pimas (20). The writer is inclined to agree with the greater number who were convinced that the o'korikam were not a sib at all (12, 23, 16). The proof was that most informants did not know to which moisty the o'korikam belonged and some o'korikam (25) had the same difficulty. Most of this sib have come from below the Mexican border where there has been more fighting and scattering than at the north. They may have been people who had lost clan affiliation and had taken the ordinary word for father, ok, and made a diminutive. The legendary sib, a'tokam, was said (10) to have been that of Elder Brother himself which came up from underground but went back at last, and had with it. The si pátkam were bad people who never joined the others in the expedition above ground (25). [807]

[1] Forde, 143; Kroeber 1919, 74; Spier 1933, 187.

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Though women had few ceremonial duties of their own, the obligations of a husband often reflected on his wife, or wives, automatically, thus emphasizing the unity of the spouses. When a man was ceremonially purified, a wife went through the same ordeal mitigated only slightly because of her sex. At its end, she had the title of "ripe". Her relatives automatically shared her blessing and her danger and, to protect themselves they abstained from salt and bathed every four days. A list of affinals purified with I. 1. A. 1 is as follows: wife, wife's parents, wife's father's brother, wife's siblings in another village, with their spouses and children. The others were far away or "they would have been purified too."

Yet this close relationship depended on the birth of a child to the young couple. After that event, the new spouse was known by affinals as "father of my grandchild", "mother of my elder brother's child", etc. In the absence of a child there was no word available but "that young man" or that "young woman."

Death or divorce did not prevent the use of kinship terms, since these depended on the child, but they often broke up economic relationships and the ceremonial ties which derived from them. On the death of a spouse, the levirate and sororate might come into play and then all relationships remained unchanged. But these rules were by no means inviolable. If a wife died and her sister did not replace her, the children normally remained in the husband's home group, cared for by his parents. If a husband died, the wife returned to her own home group taking, at least, the young children. But if she were old and her sons able to care for her, she might remain where she was.

Gift giving relationships with the affinals depended on whether the widowed spouse was within geographic reach. One family group shows the dead wife's relative as being within the intimate economic circle since they had land there. (I. 5. D. E). No purification is recorded for this family so we cannot tell whether a ceremonial tie was felt also.

There is no record of gifts to geographically distant affinals after a spouse's death but relatives would, if possible, remember the children and visit them occasionally. Such children could come back for help if they failed to get any group of their own. In divorce, conditions were much the same. The woman left the man's house and probably married into a new family group so that the old economic arrangements were necessarily broken up. All her ties, economic and ceremonial, were with the new group.

These instances show that, in Papago kin behavior, sex is always important since men and women work and play in sex limited

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except by one who had been through the purification of an Enemy Slayer or who was about to go through it. But as many as liked might gather around and make comments on the dead enemy's appearance. Whatever they shouted would be used later as their own nicknames and such names were much prized. One man had the nickname Gold Breasts, because he had used this expression about a dead Apache girl. Another was called Big Ribs because of his comment on a man. 766 727 [551]

No booty could be taken. All enemy possessions must be burned by Enemy Slayers, qualified to touch it. There were two exceptions. Enemy women and children were sometimes captured, not to be adopted, but to be sold as slaves in one of the markets. They could bring nothing with them, however. All their clothes and possessions must be burned. [567]

Also, each killer took a trophy from his victim. This was originally the scalp and so it appears in the tales of Elder Brother's campaign. Later it was only a lock of hair or four hairs from each temple. These were subsequently tied up with beads and ornaments or made into an effigy of the enemy himself with Apache dress and weapons. After the warrior's purification this served him as a fetish which must be tended and which would, in turn, give him power. Some men did not take scalps at all but brought one article of clothing, such as a moccasin or belt. This object was purely ceremonial. It was not to be used but to be kept in a basket like the effigy. 727 778

The formalities after a fight have been given in detail in another place. They involved the segregation of the Slayers for sixteen days, during which they were tended and instructed by ceremonial godfathers who, ever afterward, were regarded as relatives and so adopted into the gift giving circle. The wives of the godfathers tended the warriors' wives who were also secluded and made the new clay bowl and the olla for bathing water which was supplied to them each every four days. Meantime the warrior's relatives collected goods to pay the performers of the leaping dance which would purify his weapons on the final night of purification. 727 783

During the warrior's seclusion, the whole village danced around the scalp every night. It was finally purified on the last night by a leaping dance, performed by people of another village bearing the warrior's weapons and paid by his family. If the warrior were one of those particularly daring ones who fought with club and shield, a new shield was sometimes made for him on this occasion but this seems to have been optional. He sat through the purification of his weapons and finally was, himself, purified by the singing of other scalpers who, as mentioned before, had something the status of an

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787 In one respect, the Papago vision differs both from that of the
776 Yumans and that of the Plains. In these areas, the experience is
171 essentially democratic, opening to him who achieves it, every avenue
624 of advance. But the Papago dream brought success only in racing, gambling, war and curing. Planting was taken care of by communal ritual and office, both ceremonial and secular, descended by heredity, without benefit of vision. It seems possible to relate this importance of the hierarchy to Pueblo influence. We have mentioned that the group of officiers in a Papago village is a simplified version of that found in the western Pueblos where, also, office derives from family status. Wheter this group was imposed on a society which already had the vision formula or whether that formula found them already established, they would serve as a barrier to the principle that all avenues were open to the dreamer.

NAMES

553 An experience of adult life which, from the Papago point of view, must be placed among the crucial ones was the receiving of a nickname. This was actually the appellation by which a man was called while his shaman-given name passed into disuse. Women did not receive nicknames but instead were often the givers.

●551 A distinguishing characteristic of Papago names is that they usually have more reference to the giver than to the person named. This is the case with shaman-given names which describe something the shaman has seen in a dream. The dream has no connection with the child to be named except that, as is apparent from the examples, dreams referring to flowers and plants are used for women. There may have been other distinctions of the same sort. Some shaman-given names follow:

Men	Women
Circling Light	Rushing Light Beams
Daylight Comes	Rustling Leaves
Wind Rainbow	Wind Leaves
Cloud Rainbow	Blossom Tips
Rainbow Shaman	Feather Leaves
Having a Rainbow as a Bow	Singing Dawn
Shining Beetle	Sifting
Hawk Flying Over Water Holes	Flowers Trembling
Chief of Jackrabbits	Leaves Flying
Crooked Shining	Water Drops on Leaves
Thundering Wings	Leaf Blossoms
Short Wings	Foamy Water
Shining Evening	

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In view of the affinity of the Papago system of male sib titles with the Yuman system of female sib names,[1] it would seem possible that some of the men's names might bear sib suggestions. No connection could de traced of Wind, Rainbow and the other natural phenomena which characterize the shaman's dreams with sib or moiety. 551

The rules for the use of the given name are now obscured, since all Papagos have Spanish or English names and some families have had them for generations. However, all older men and women have shaman-given names and most men have nicknames. They make no objection to telling their given names, though some will not tell that of another. Many people are habitually called by given names. Nevertheless, many signs point to a name taboo and to the use instead of either a kin term or a nickname.

A person is habitually addressed and spoken of by the kinship term, prefixed with the possessive pronoun: my younger sister's child, your father's older brother. All ceremonial greetings made use of the kin term only, even the final salute to the dead, which was a form of exorcism. When unrelated men had, to each other, the relationship of guardian and protégé, special kin terms were coined to meet the case: my made-father, my nephew.

Even with supernaturals there was the same situation. In many of the rituals for the salt expedition, there is mention of a powerful supernatural who is alluded to by no other term than my made-father, or guardian. Since the name is nowhere mentioned, informants, who had learned the ritual by rote, could not tell who was meant. The same is true in the ritual for the rain ceremony. Elder Brother himself had the given name Iitoi, but instead is always called by the kinship term he acquired. Coyote is called "our partner" or the "gray comrade." This usage may de interpreted from the point of view of the importance of the kin term but also from that of the objection to the use of the name. In some rain rituals there is no kin term but a mention of one who sat on the rain house, and in a war ritual one who was underground (presumably earth magician). The smoker's invocation to the sun says simply: "You stand there," without giving a name. 552 776

The place where a supernatural power is habitually mentioned by name is in the curing songs. These are descriptions of animals who have by their power brought the disease and can also take it away. There is no myth of relationship with any of these animals as with Coyote. The song often begins with a mention of the animal's name as a sort of invocation and then proceeds with a description.

[1] Spier, 1933, p. 198.

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It is badger shaman!
In the night he runs.
Venison he brings.

Little blue fly!
It hangs on my horn.
It will bother me.

Red ants!
Toward me they flung darkness

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The idea here seems to be not to flatter or implore the animal but to mention and describe him, as though that naming in itself negated his power to bring disease.

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With the Papagos, when a man's name had to be mentioned, it was usually a nickname. Even with ceremonial announcements this was the case. When a war party returned, they sent a herald ahead to shout the names of the slayers, so that their families might be secluded and nicknames, not given names, were used. When naming songs were sung in connection with intervillage races, the singing side sent to inquire the names of their hosts, which they put in their songs and again the names were nicknames. The hosts in turn inquired the names of their guests so that they might call each one to come and receive a gift. "But we only gave them silly names. Not our real ones." (26) This would point to a lifelong prohibition from the use of the given name, though Russell says that among the Pimas such a prohibition lasted only from the age of ten to marriage.[1]

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Papago nicknames are of three sorts: descriptive names, referring to some peculiarity of the person named; sexual names, referring to a peculiarity of the namers and "enemy" names, referring to a peculiarity of a dead enemy, mentioned by the person named. The last two have the Papago trait of referring more to another person than to the one named. These were names obtained by a man's own exploits, highly valued and traded. The first, the descriptive name, was apparently a mere makeshift, used in daily life, until a man could get something else.

1. Descriptive names. These are always slightly derogatory and may easily be distinguished from the shaman-given names which have a lofty poetic tone.
Grasshopper ate his arrow (from an incident on a hunting trip)

[1] Russell, p. 188.

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One-on-top-of-another (a man bought two shawls and wore them home thus) 551
Begging for yucca fruit (from an incident at camp)

Self-explanatory names are:

Looking Back	Gambler
Having No Pet	One Who Never Plants
Back to the Fire	Girl Follower
Many Garments	One Who Lies Down Curled Up
Garment Falling Off	Dizzy One
Blisters	Bed Wetter
Fish Small Mouth	Girl Beckoner
Ridge Face	Rat Ear
Neck Tendons	Yellow Legs
Gourd Head	

2. Sexual names. These were given in obscene jest by a woman or by the berdache and referred to the sexual parts, not of the person named but of the speaker. A divorced wife, on parting from a man, often labelled him with such a name. It was also given by one with whom he had had a sex relationship, often also in jeering invitation. The name was made public by the giver, who shouted it after the man when others could hear. The recipient of the name, far from feeling embarrassment, regarded it as a proof of prowess. He accepted it and was regularly called by it, even by his wife and family. 551 522 131
Some names are: Vulva-with-hair-growing-downward, Big Vulva, Skirt String, Long Anus.
3. Enemy names. It was customary, when a dead enemy was left on the field or near the village after a raid, for all who could to gather round the body and shout comments, without touching it. Such comments constituted nicknames for the shouters. 551
Some names mentioned are: Wild Cat's Back (because an Apache's back was spotted [with paint?]), Long Bones, Full of Dirt, Yellow Face, Gold Breasts (the last of a girl).
This would seem an excellent opportunity to acquire a striking name but in at least one instance the calendar stick reports that a party of men heard there were some dead Apaches nearby but did not go there "because they were afraid of what the people would call them".

The use of a man's descriptive nickname persisted along with his sexual or enemy name so that an individual often had several appellations. Though the derogatory descriptive names were accepted and answered to without objection, many tried to get them changed to something which suited their personal taste. No man

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551 invented a nickname and asked to be called by it. But if he had no sexual or enemy name, he might buy a nickname belonging to someone else, or might exchange his old one for it. Thus Devil-Old Man exchanged names with Contrary. Looking-For-Girls-at-a-Dance changed with Big Crazy, but had to give him four pints of whiskey in addition, because of the desirability of the name. Vincenzo, who had only a Spanish name, bought the name of Two Bits from Joe, who in turn was left with a Spanish name. The exchanges were not always operative and a man, even after he had traded for a desirable name, sometimes found that people would not call him by it.

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775 on its journey must pass through a gap, which was very dangerous.[1] His owl companions went through it easily but the newly dead had trouble. Some turned back at this point and found themselves alive again. Beyond the gap is the town where the dead live, just as people on earth do. If the newly dead mingles with them and speaks to them, he cannot come back. If he does not speak, he may still regain life. In the town he will find his ancestors who "bring him up like a child," teaching him all their ways. The life is like the life on earth, except that there is plenty of rain, for this is in the east, whence the rain comes.

The dead can leave this land at any time and fly back in a moment in the form of owls and they come thus to call the relatives whom they wish to have as companions. Warriors killed in the Apache country meet war parties and guide them through the enemy's land. Shamans come back and instruct living shamans.

755 775 *If a person is being called by the dead, he may dream of them or he may fall unconscious, his soul gone. He then applies to the shaman, but the shaman does not send his own soul on a search. He sharpens four sticks, paints them and puts them outside the grave to "shut the door." Or he smokes a ceremonial cigarette and asks the dead to come out. An owl may appear and then the shaman urges him to go away and leave the living alone. Meanwhile a group of helpers, some distance off, sings the song cycle which removes an evil charm.*

551 184 The California objection to naming the dead appears among the Papagos in a modified form. In the northern part of the area, the names are freely used; (26, 19, 1) in the southern part they are not (9). The mention of the name would evoke the dead who would bring sickness on his kin. Therefore, the kin themselves would not do it, and if a mysterious sickness appeared among them, they would suspect that someone else had done it and be angry. A subsidiary reason given is that the name "makes them feel too bad" (9).

551 But it is only the relatives who would suffer. An informant once was prevented from singing me a song, where a specific name should be mentioned, because all the people whose names he had heard used in such songs were dead and if he used them, their relatives would be angry. Nor would he use the names of his own relatives. But the interpreter, who had abandoned the old customs, gave permission for the names of his ancestors to be used and then the informant had no fear.

If the name is not used, the dead is referred to by the kinship

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[1] Compare, Antone, Sobaipuri, Sahuaro, pt. 6, sec. 6, p. 305.

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term but either is followed by the suffix — pa‡ (deceased). Most names contain adjectives and nouns in common use, but the relatives do not avoid these words in daily speech. The shaman, who names children from his dreams, would not give the name of a dead person to a new child in the family.

A form of tears greeting is practised after there has been a death in a family. When relatives meet, who have not seen each other since the death, they approach weeping and spend some time wailing together. This is now done only by the women, but in the old days men wept too. When a village holds a ceremony to which people will come from a distance, the women of bereaved families stand in front of their houses weeping as visitors approach. Visiting female relatives join them and all wail, using the kin term of the deceased.[1]

[1] *Cf. Eskimo, Thalbitzer, pp. 78—89, and Navajo, personal information, Dr. Reichard.*

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I took my little girl with me when we went to dance and sing for the River People. Every year or two we went, we three or four villages that were relatives.

Once we went to The Spring, and Begging for Yucca Fruit made the songs. Then we went to Sacaton and my father made them. The River People came to us, too, and we all went and camped at the village where they were to sing. They sang at Mesquite Root, my father's village, and he put into the singer's hands cow manure and horse manure. That meant he would give them a cow and a horse. Then we went to the Narrow Place and held a great harvest festival, and my husband was one of the singers. A good time we had, roaming over the land.

Once, when my husband and I were away working, word came that my father was sick. All the family came back to Mesquite Root, but the medicine man could not help him. We all began to cry, right then: "Haya, my father!" "Haya, my elder brother!" "Haya, my husband!" It is a sort of tune. We cried all night, but he died.

We did not bury him in a cave in the rocks as our people used to do. We had been up and down to Mexico, and had seen the priests and learned many things. We laid him down and dug a grave. We dressed him in clothes, a good shirt and trousers and sandals and a red headband around his hair. We gave him a blanket and pillow, too, for the grave. Because he was an Enemy Slayer his face was painted, black to the nose and white below. His younger brother did that, for he was an Enemy Slayer, too, and had the right.

All the men of our family dug the grave, and then carried him out and put him there. They put in his blanket and pillow, because we did not sleep on mats any more. And his leather pouch, they put in, and the sticks he had for games and his bow and arrows and his good quiver of wild cat skin. Then his brother spoke: "We put you here. Stay and don't come back to frighten us." My mother said: "Make yourself at home. Be happy. Don't come back to break up my good dreams." She was crying. Then we called him again. "Haya, my father!" "Haya, my elder brother!" "Haya, my husband!"

All the relatives called him. After that, we never said his name, José Marks. When we talked about him we said my father-gone, my elder brother-gone, my husband-gone. To hear the name would make us feel too bad. And nobody ever said that name to us because my brothers would get angry.

We divided his horses, and my sister and I each got two. My brothers and my mother got more. My brothers took the house down and moved

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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593 601 the one addressed.[4] The old Papago terms are still in everyday use, but a few English terms such as "mamma" and "daddy" are coming into vogue among the more acculturated families, and personal names are more frequently used in addressing relatives near one's own age, when formerly the kinship term would have been used.

601 The Papago kinship terms are not merely convenient designations, for they indicate patterns of behavior among relatives. The cousin who is addressed by the same term as a brother is treated much as a brother. The emphasis on age in the kin terms is directly linked with the Papago principle that the older is always in a position of authority over the younger (which is discussed in Part II of this study).

● 551 In addition to the kinship terms by which he is addressed and referred to by his relatives, a Papago has at least two personal names. According to an old Papago custom, still followed by some families today, a medicine man gives the child a name, usually one which had come to him in a dream.[5] This name is believed to have magic power and is seldom used in reference or address. A few old people are still known by these names.

In more general use, particularly among the men, are nicknames bestowed because of some personal eccentricity or experience. These names, frequently given to the men by women, may have sexual connotations. Women liked "Women Hobbled Him" and tried to keep him near them; the bride of "No Blanket" left him because he had no blanket; "Spinach" went courting on a green horse. Women also may have nicknames: "School Bus" had her dates near the bus; "Red Shoes" liked bright footwear. "Heron Legs" and "Shiny

4. The kinship terminology is of the "Yuman" type. Its characteristics are these: (1) emphasis on distinctions of sex and relative age, the treatment different according to generation; (2) a differentiation of parents from their siblings and of siblings from one another. In the two ascending generations maternal and paternal lines are distinguished as well as sex; sexes are undifferentiated in one's own and the two descending generations. In the first ascending generation, the sex of the person addressed, his age order in relation to the speaker's parent, and the relationship to which parent are all indicated. In ego's generation all siblings are either older or younger than ego. Cousins are addressed as elder and younger siblings, the term depending on the relative age of the parents. In the first and second descending generations there are no distinctions in relative age nor in the sex of the person addressed; the only difference between male and female speaking is that the father and mother call their children by different terms, that used by the father signifying "little one" and that used by the mother, "born from my womb." In the grandparent class all are "grandfather" or "grandmother." Thus, in the parent, and aunt and uncle class, the relationship to one's parents can be determined; in ego's generations the relationship to one's self, but in the descending generations only the sex of the parent speaking. The kinship terminology is a reflection of the authority system in terms of relative age and of patrilocal residence. Underhill also regards it as reflecting the sororate and levirate which no longer exist (Ruth Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, p. 39).

5. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Pate" (both names bestowed on white people) reflect physical characteristics. Nicknames are commodities after a fashion, for they may be bought or traded.

When a Papago is addressed directly, neither the name given him by a medicine man nor his nickname is used. If the speaker is not a relative, he addresses another Papago by his English or Spanish name or by the Papago term for "friend." Spanish names were given to the Indians by the first missionary priests; they were all saints' names, and no surnames were added. As white men dealt increasingly with the Papago, they found it difficult to distinguish the many Joses, Juans, and Franciscos; so they introduced the Desert People to the system of taking the father's name. Frequently the Indians used the father's given name as a surname; thus a father, son, and grandson might be Jose Juan, Pablo Jose, and Cesario Pablo, respectively. Not all siblings, however, would necessarily take the father's name; five brothers might have five different surnames. Wives might take the husband's surname or retain their own. Whites were further confused by the ease with which Indians changed their names; Juan Francisco might suddenly become Chico Jose.

When the English-speaking white traders and government employees began to record these Spanish names, they were misled by the Papago pronunciation or by their own lack of acquaintance with Spanish into misspelling or anglicizing them. Thus Moristo has become "Molisto," and Averisto is alternatively spelled "Valisto"; Xavier is written "Havier" or is changed to "Harvey" or "Harris"; Candelaria may be "Condolorey." One well-known surname, Puella, is a white teacher's spelling of a Papago child's pronunciation of his name, Pedro Maria—"Pedlo Malia."

Although census records, school rolls, and registration for rationing and Selective Service have influenced Papago to keep the same name, some confusion remains because there is still a rather strong sanction against uttering names unnecessarily, particularly as terms of address. When addressed by name, many adults will answer with manifest annoyance if at all, and even a child who has been in school for some years will show embarrassment. English-speaking Papago seldom address a white person by name; they prefer "you." But, if a name must be used, it is always the surname with "Mr.," "Mrs.," or "Miss." The formal address is also used with certain Papago in positions commanding respect but never when a kin term might be substituted.

Thus the system of appellation so well defined in white culture is in a transitional stage among the Desert People. The old medicine men's names are dying out, and inheritance of surnames is gradually becoming common. But

551 the important names are still the kinship terms, and the nicknames which are a source of amusement and gossip for everyone.

MARRIAGE

581 Marriage is the normal adult state among the Papago. In the old days there were few bachelors and almost no unmarried women. Today there are more single adults, but they are a very small proportion of the tribe, and spinsters
582 are looked upon as something of a curiosity. Girls may marry at fourteen and boys at sixteen, but the usual ages seem to be between sixteen and eighteen for girls and between eighteen and twenty for boys.

584 According to the old custom—practiced in a few cases as recently as ten years ago—marriages were arranged by the families of the bride and groom, usually without consulting the young people concerned. Nowadays young Papago almost without exception select their own mates and consult their parents later. Usually, however, the parent's wishes are followed, although a few young people have braved family disapproval to marry whom they pleased.

582 Apparently the chief prerequisite for marriage is that the young couple be unrelated, a restriction strengthened by the ban laid by the Roman Catholic church on marriage within the third degree of relationship. In recent years there have been several cases of marriage between first cousins without more stringent penalties than adverse gossip, but one such couple in the conservative
[484] Hickiwan District were ostracized by both their families, who said that they were "living like dogs."

Because of this general restriction against marriage between close relatives, young people customarily used to marry outside their own communities where nearly everyone was related. In the larger villages, where new blood has come in and therefore relationships are not so close, many young people who are neighbors marry.

Whatever their birthplace, some Papago say that the bride and groom used to belong to the same dialect group. This was less a result of sanction than of circumstance; before there were many roads on the Reservation and until many people went to work in the mines or cotton fields, Papago seldom met
[186] those of any other dialect group. Even now, though there are many intermixtures of dialect, there is still a strong in-group feeling, and outsiders are teased or ridiculed not only for the difference in their speech but also because
582 of their personal appearance and mannerisms. A bride from a different dialect
591 group coming to her husband's home must anticipate a good deal of such

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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is ordinarily followed—usually after some months—by baptism. Up to this time the child is called simply "baby," for the name bestowed by the medicine man is never used as a term of address. 852 [551]

Sonora Catholic godparents sprinkle the child with holy water, say Spanish prayers over him, and give him a Christian name, which may have been selected long since by the parents but is formally recognized as a gift of the godparents. They give the baby a new set of clothing and feed the relatives and friends who have gathered at the church. In return the parents present them with a basket of native manufacture. Most baptisms in the West are like this.

The procedure in a Roman Catholic baptism is similar, except that the priest performs the orthodox ceremony, and the godparents must have been baptized and (if spouses) married in the church. As noted in chapter vi, however, the Roman Catholic child may have two sets of godparents, and in this case the Sonorans will also baptize the child. Presbyterians follow the usual baptismal rites of their church.

INFANCY

The keynote of a Papago infant's training is indulgence. The Desert People believe that a little child should be happy at all times, and it is his mother's responsibility to keep him so. The attitude of other adults in the home is also compliant. Until the next child is born, the baby is king, and his wish is law. Various kinds of training begin after his second birthday, but weaning and denials are so handled that the child feels as little restraint as possible. 854

The baby goes wherever his mother does—to the neighbor's, to town, or to a fiesta. He is rarely out of her sight and never out of her hearing; he lies in a bed or in a hammock in the house or under the ramada, wherever his mother happens to be working. The hammock is merely a blanket folded over two ropes swung from the walls or posts; it has no stiff framework and thus is soft and comfortable. Usually the ropes are slung so low that the baby can see all that goes on around him, but the hammock is deep enough to be secure, and the child is tied in, with his arms left free. His mother or some other relative keeps him swinging gently. When the mother takes him away from home, she lays him diagonally on a little blanket and folds the corners loosely over his body and face. In cold weather he is often first rolled tightly in another blanket. Being wrapped up seems to give security to the infant and usually quiets a restless child.

A baby is in his mother's arms whenever she is not occupied with some household task. A busy mother who has no one to help her may carry her baby around on her hip while she does her work. When he is lying down, his slight-

[Text continues on p. 121. - Analyst]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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796 did not know their business well. The tribe, as I have already said, is daily losing its ancient beliefs and customs.

The distribution now began. The young men went in pairs, stopping before every one in his turn; each of the two would dip a gourd into the wine and hand it over. The recipient would, before drinking, lift it up toward the young man, saying: "*Návatsh!*" (friend!); if he were a relative, he would address him by the name of the relationship. It was evident from the beaming smile on the faces of those who drank that the wine awoke much satisfaction. My turn also came and I must confess that in this dry and hot climate, the beverage, when well made, and coming cool from the jars, does not taste at all bad, though I soon grew tired of it.

Four times in this manner had the young men made the rounds of the square, offering the wine quickly and with much precision, when two old men appeared on the scene. They advanced from the lodge, holding each other by the hand, fingers intertwined, and, beginning at the east, went in turn to each of the different mats where the principal men were sitting. The mat is called *váaki*, [173] which connects us with the mythical long ago when the hunter put up a small round house of that name near water, in which he stayed during the heat of the day. At each corner of the world is a váaki or hunter's lodge. At each such "house" a long speech was made by one [551] of the two old men, whose name was "Mocking Bird Talk." Addressing the most important man on the mat by his degree of relationship, or as a friend, as the case might be, he tells him to look for a white, shining house

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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CHAPTER V

COMOBABI—AN ATTRACTIVE INDIAN FAMILY—MARIANITA—A HORNED LIZARD THAT SPURTS BLOOD THROUGH THE EYE—AN ABORIGINAL WAY OF RECORDING EVENTS—THE PAPAGO CALENDAR—HARVESTING SAHUARO—HOW TO KEEP COMFORTABLE IN GREAT HEAT—A VISIT TO CHIEF ALVINA

Our next halting place was made at the rancheria of Comobabi, comprising a somewhat extensive area on a beautiful slope at the foot of the mountains. Most of the houses here, too, were temporarily abandoned on account of the sahuaro harvest. Early in the afternoon we drove up to a house which impressed us as being the most hospitable looking; the family were just seating themselves on the ground outside, to eat tortillas and beans, the husband standing near by with his horse saddled. They received us as if we had always known them, although Pablo had not met them before. We were invited to share their food, and, as soon as they were made to understand that I wanted to buy all sorts of Indian things, they cheerfully produced whatever they had. I purchased two bags full of certain eatable seeds, which I had much desired to procure, also a meal basket made by the thirteen-year-old daughter, who had the sweet-sounding name of Marianita, although neither Spanish nor English was among the family accomplishments.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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ing a large sleeping mat, plaited from zotol leaves in the usual manner, which I had also bought. Another, a smaller daughter, sat near by, while on the roof the third child, a boy of eight summers, was romping in a short shirt, throwing stones and looking picturesque against the blue sky and the mountains of Baboquivari. One's photographic propensities are sorely tried under such tempting circumstances. As we approached, the boy descended. Pablo, at my bidding, engaged the family in conversation and I tried to avoid observation while taking snapshots, for, if seen, that would have put a speedy end to the friendship so happily begun.

This was an attractive family that carried one's thoughts back to the Indian of long ago. The mother seemed the incarnation of sterling qualities, well meaning, intelligent, and active. She had quite an eye to business, but she asked fair prices. She looked about fifty, the picture of health, and had borne thirteen children, nine of whom were alive; many of these were full-grown and the youngest was six years old. Her husband, who was as friendly as his wife, or even more so, had a peculiar name, Piukvĭetam, "He cannot be eaten" (because bitter to the taste). This probably expresses some characteristic of antipathy which I failed to discover, the Indians being extremely critical in their application of names.

It was the 10th of July; for several days the maximum temperature had remained at about 100° F. A moist wind, somewhat cooler, had been blowing too gently for real comfort, but that day about sunset the